

234 object of the fray was that the men might exhibit their
 541 agility and skill. There is little doubt, however, that the bells
 765 were put on the buffaloes at some time on this day. The
 remainder of the first day was occupied with dancing, singing,
 and feasting. On the second day, the proceedings began
 again in the middle of the day with more dances and with a
 repetition of the driving and catching within the pen. In the
 afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes,
 now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and
 killed, and then followed the ceremonies which have already
 been described.

765 At the funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse, part of the
 787 second day was occupied by the proceedings of a diviner,
 627 and divination seems to be a frequent feature of funerals,
 having been also seen both by Mr. Thurston and myself.
 In the latter case, the occasion of the divination arose
 directly out of the proceedings, but it is probable that the
 gatherings are used as opportunities of consulting the gods
 on other matters. A funeral may also be used as an occasion
 for settling disputes, especially those which concern the
 people especially connected with the funeral.

FUNERAL LAMENTS

533 At some stage in both funeral ceremonies laments for the
 539 dead may be sung or said which consist of sentences praising
 765 the virtues of the deceased and recounting incidents of his or
 her life. To these sentences the same term *kwarsam* is
 applied which is used for the words and clauses of the
 prayers. I am not certain at what stage of the proceedings
 the recital of these laments takes place, but it is certainly
 after the killing of the buffaloes, probably in many cases
 during the general wailing round the buffalo and the remains.
 At the second funeral of a male, however, I believe that the
 lament is recited during the dancing.

I did not succeed in obtaining any examples during my
 visit, but soon after my departure Samuel sent me two
 laments, one composed by Teitnir (52) and uttered by him
 at the second funeral ceremony for his wife Tersveli. The

villages where there is plenty of grass for the buffaloes, and are in general visited for short periods. The only explanation which could be given was that owing to the short time they are occupied it is not worth while to transfer the whole family to the place. It seemed, however, certain that women were definitely forbidden to live at these villages—a village where a woman may live being distinguished as *isknidvaimad*—and this suggests that the institution is based on something more than mere convenience, and that the villages have some kind of sanctity which makes it undesirable that women should live in them.

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The following are the only existing villages of this kind:—Taradrkirsi, the male funeral village of Kars; Kudrmas and Telgudr, belonging to Taradr; Perg, belonging to the Panol; and Pirsush, belonging to Kuadr.

Three of these, Taradrkirsi, Kudrmas, and Pirsush, receive the *haimakāsi* salutation, and are certainly ancient and sacred villages, while there was some doubt as to whether Telgudr should not also be saluted. The only *kaloimad* I visited was Taradrkirsi, where there is now only a dairy, so that there is a clear reason why women cannot live there, but this did not appear to be the reason at other places.

Again, I could not ascertain why they should be called "old man villages," and their existence must, I am afraid, remain a mystery, though I think we may be confident that there is, or has been in the past, some ceremonial reason to explain their existence.

Two Todas villages are known as *satimad*. If a dispute arises between two men they are taken to the front of the dairy of the *satimad*, and are made to state what has happened, and anything a man says under these conditions will be believed. It is thought that if a man does not speak the truth, he will fall sick and his buffaloes will die.

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According to some accounts there is only one true *satimad*, the village of Kuadr, which we have already seen has several signs of especial sanctity, such as the mention of its house in the prayer, the severe restrictions on its women during pregnancy, and the homage rendered to it by Todas of every clan.

621 According to other accounts the village of Kanòdrs¹ is also a *satimad*, and Todas of all clans may be brought there to make statements. It seems most probable that both places are *satimad*, but that the custom of using Kanòdrs as a touchstone of truth is now no longer followed, Kiudr only being used for this purpose. It will be remembered that both Kiudr and Kanòdrs have features of dairy ritual peculiar to themselves, and that in some respects there is a close resemblance between the ritual of the two places.

[114] In his book written in 1832,² Captain Harkness says that the Todas have a temple dedicated to Truth, but identifies this with a *ti* dairy (*teriri*). It is probable, however, that his statement was based on what he was told of the *satimad*, either of Kiudr or Kanòdrs.

THE DAIRY

234 As we have already seen, there is some doubt whether the reverence paid to a village is paid to the village as a whole or to the dairy. There is no doubt, however, that the dairy draws to itself most of the veneration which a village excites.

778 Whenever a devout Toda visits a strange village, he goes to the dairy, and prostrating himself at its threshold, utters a prayer. My ordinary guide, Kòdrner, was not devout and did not pay this reverence, but his brother, Kutadri, was very scrupulous in performing these duties, especially when he went with me to the Kundahs. I could not obtain from him the prayer that he employed on these occasions.

The contents of the dairy are regarded as sacred, and, as we have seen, definite means are taken to prevent these objects from contamination by the gaze or touch of ordinary mortals. Of the objects kept in the dairy the bells are undoubtedly the most sacred. The most sacred of the vessels is the *mu*, which is not kept in the dairy but is buried in the buffalo-pen, and is only used on certain ceremonial occasions.

¹ At this place there is now only a dairy.

² Pp. 18 and 67.

Intercourse between

[837] a wife and another man is not regarded as a reason for divorce but rather as a perfectly natural occurrence.

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When a man divorces his wife, the woman's people usually complain to the *naim* or council, but if it is decided that the man shall take his wife back, there appears to be no way of compelling him to do so. In any case the husband pays a fine (*kwadr*) of one buffalo to the wife's people, just as he would have done if he had refused to take her when she reached the marriageable age, but he receives back any buffaloes he may have given as *podri*. Even if the council decides that the man ought to take his wife back and he refuses, a fine greater than one buffalo cannot be inflicted.

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If the divorced woman re-marries, the previous husband does not receive anything, and any buffaloes given become the property of the woman's family.

THE MOKHTHODITI INSTITUTION

588 In addition to the regular marriage, there is another recognised mode of union between men and women, which 837 is called *mokhthoditi*. The man who becomes the consort 851 of a woman in this way is called her *mokhthodvaiol*—viz., 616 “man who keeps *mokh*,”¹ and the woman is called *sed-vaitasmokh*—viz., “woman who joins.” 595 The *mokhthoditi* union differs from the regular marriage in one important respect. It may be, and usually is, formed between Tarthar men and Teivali women, or between Teivali men and Tarthar women. The great majority of instances of which I heard were of this kind. One woman might have more than one *mokhthodvaiol*, the largest number of which I heard being three. Similarly, a man might have more than one *sed-vaitasmokh*, but as the custom entailed considerable expenses on the man, this was not common, and I did not hear of any instance in which a man had more than two.

The *mokhthodvaiol* has no rights over any children who might be supposed to be his; they are regarded as the children of the regular marriage. This would be the case

¹ *Mokh* here means ‘child’ in general, not son.

159 and since that time he has had no wife, though he claims
 851 that Iraveli, his brother's wife, is also his. There seems to be
 58 no doubt, however, that he does not live with his brother in
 the same way as in most cases of polyandry, and is a wanderer
 with no regular home of his own, but I could not discover
 the cause of this.

159 A dispute about a marriage was in progress while I was
 629 on the Hills, which I did not understand completely, but it
 851 appeared that Oselig (24), who had been first married to
 58 Teigudr (4), was then taken by Punog (14). Punog was said
 to have treated his wife badly, and to have failed to perform
 his duties when there was a funeral in the family of Nertiners,
 the brother of Oselig. He had not given the proper *pōdri*,
 nor had he taken part in the cloth-giving ceremony, so Oselig
 ran away from him and took refuge with her brother. After
 a month Punog demanded back his wife and also twelve
 buffaloes which he had left with Nertiners for grazing pur-
 poses. Nertiners refused to send back his wife, and returned
 only eight of the buffaloes. He also proceeded to arrange
 that Oselig should marry Udrchovan (36), and Punog accused
 Nertiners of having got up the whole quarrel in order that
 Oselig should make this marriage. The matter was referred
 to the council, and it was decided that Oselig should become
 the wife of Udrchovan, but I did not hear for how many
 buffaloes, nor how the other disputes about buffaloes and
pōdri were settled.

At this time Udrchovan had another wife, Pandut (45).
 She had been the wife of Udrchovan and his brother Popners
 from infancy, and after having three children, who died young,
 she had been sent away and Udrchovan married Kavener (3),
 while his brother married Silkot (10). Later Kavener was
 taken from Udrchovan by Kudrvas (11), and Udrchovan
 remarried Pandut, who in the meantime had had two other
 husbands.

159 To the foregoing accounts, which I give as exceptional
 584 and not as typical examples of the uncertainty of Toda
 595 married life, I add one taken from the book published by
 851 Captain Harkness in 1832, p. 121. The notes are added by
 myself.

- 842 hope of having a son, one of the brothers had recently
 618 married a young girl, Obalidz, as his third wife, the others
 being still alive, though one had been taken by another man.

GOVERNMENT

- 623 The most important feature of Toda government is the
naim, or *noim*,¹ a council having a definite constitution. The
 627 *naim* proper has to do with the affairs of the Todas in general,
 and, in addition, more informal councils,² consisting of the
 chief members of a clan, may be held to settle matters arising
 within the clan. It seems, however, that the supreme *naim*
 may sometimes be called upon to settle the internal affairs
 of a clan.
- 623 The *naim* of the general body of Todas should have five
 177 members, or, if more than five members, they should be drawn
 from five sources. Four of these sources are the Tarthar
 clans of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr, and the Teivali clan of
 Kuudr. The fifth source is the Badaga village of Tuneri,
 from which a Badaga man may be sent to take part in the
naim. He is only called upon to sit, however, on special
 occasions; and in the many councils which I saw during my
 visit a Badaga was rarely present. He probably only sits, as
 a rule, when questions arise which involve the relations
 between the Todas and Badagas.
- 623 The Toda representatives should be drawn from certain
 families of their respective clans. The Kuudr representative
 should belong to the family known as the *manikudupel*, and
 the representatives of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr to the families
 known as *tinkanikudupel*. A few years ago the Toda re-
 presentatives were Kuriolv of Kuudr (52), Parkurs (8)
 and Piutolván (10) of Kars, Kudòdrsvan (3) of Nòdrs, and
 Ircheidi (20) of Taradr, though there was some question
 whether Ircheidi was on the *naim*, or whether his place had
 not been taken by Piutolván, the second Kars representative.
 All these men are at present living, but, with the exception of

¹ A meeting of the council is often spoken of as *kùtkùdriti*, "the assembly
 assembles," or *kùtpunìti*, "the assembly makes."

² It seemed clear that the term *naim* is also applied to these clan councils.

Kuriolv, they are too old or infirm to serve. Kuriolv is still on the *naim*, and his influence is entirely predominant, and it appears that he has been instrumental in altering the constitution of the council very largely. The number of representatives has been increased, and the following were the members in 1902:—Kuriolv and Ivievan (52) of Kuudr, Perner and Tebner (68), of Keadr, Parkeidi (21), Paners (23) and Siriar (20) of Taradr and Pidrvan (9) of Kars. Thus several members of the Kuudrol and Taradrol are serving, while there appears to be no representative of the Nòdrsol; and I was told by several Todas that Perner and Tebner are on the council because they are friends of Kuriolv, though, as members of the Keadr clan, they have no right whatever to the position.

On the slopes below the hill called Mirson, near Paikara, there are the remains of ruined walls marking a place where the *naim* used to meet. This place is called Idrgùdipem, and seems to have been at one time the chief meeting-place.

At the present time the *naim* meets anywhere. I have seen the council sitting in the compound of the bungalow at Paikara and on one occasion, when I was working in a bungalow at the Ooty Club, the *naim* sat in the grounds of the club. In general, they now meet at the places which happen to be most convenient for the chief members.

The members usually sit in a semicircular row. If they are considering a dispute between two parties, representatives of the parties take part in the sitting, and in these cases the members of the *naim* sit in the middle of the row while the representatives sit on either wing.

During my visit the council was chiefly occupied with the various complicated transactions which are always arising out of the custom of transferring wives from one man to another. This custom is the chief source of disputes among the Todas, and at times the *naim* may sit for several days before one case is settled.

I am doubtful whether the *naim* should have a definite head, but at the present time it certainly has such in the person of Kuriolv of Kuudr. He is the senior representative of the *manikudupel* of Kuudr, and is therefore the natural representative of this clan on the *naim*. He is highly intel-

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he almost entirely dominated the Toda people at the time of my visit. We have already seen that he has succeeded in altering the constitution of the *naim*, and several examples are given in this book of his interference in the normal course of Toda affairs; interference usually in favour of his own family or friends. In at least one case (see Chap. XVI) during my visit he considered himself superior to ceremonial laws.

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He seemed to me to afford an excellent example of the process by which one man may bring about considerable changes in the laws and regulations of a community; though I was told in several instances that the Todas would revert to their old customs as soon as Kuriolv died.

I did not obtain a full account of the duties of the *naim* and of the affairs which come under its jurisdiction. There is no doubt, however, that it is largely concerned with the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families, and clans. As I have already mentioned, it seemed to me that it was almost exclusively engaged during my visit in the regulation of the disputes arising out of the *terersthi* custom. In one such case the question of funeral contributions was involved, and I have no doubt that the settlement of any dispute arising from this source would come within the province of the *naim*, and probably any doubtful point in the working of the social regulations would be submitted to it.

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In addition to its functions in disputes between individuals, the *naim* has wide functions in connexion with Toda ceremonial. It decides when many ceremonies take place, and has the chief word in regulating the affairs of the *ti dairies*. Thus it appeared that the various arrangements and alterations of arrangements in connexion with the migration of the buffaloes of the *Nödrs ti* which were made during my visit were the work of the *naim*, or, at any rate, of its chief members.

CRIME

I have no knowledge about the power of the *naim* in criminal as opposed to civil matters. I never heard of inquiry by the *naim* into any criminal offence committed by one man against another or against the community. It is, however,

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one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers.

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house.

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiödr and Kanödrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family.

Brecks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they

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or other imperishable article, even as is said, a bell—konku. That many of these étud Mandas contain kurpus, I have ascertained by direct enquiry. That they all do so, or are supposed by the people to do so, is my belief. Hence we see the étud Mandas are *shrines*; the shrines of a race which burns its dead.

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Now the Badaga name for such a village is mui Mand.[†] And as the very intimate knowledge which this cognate tribe possesses of Toda practice, would probably cause the word mui to be descriptive; it would materially assist us in our enquiries if we knew exactly what it does mean.

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It has been ascertained that the Todas often settle disputes amongst themselves at these places—the tiriéri being too sacred to be approached for such purposes—challenging one another to make good their word, by repeating it at the étud Mand. By joining all these notes together, I can frame an explanation that appears to me quite reasonable, and in consonance with my knowledge of the people's habits and mode of thought. They evidently consider the dairies containing kurpus, or relics of their ancestors, in the light of shrines; and in consequence, the precincts and presence to be holy ground; so holy that men would be restrained from lightly uttering a falsehood at such spots.[‡] Hence it is, that these 'great' Mandas are used for

—verbal noun = a sign, indication, memorial. The Kanarese uses guri. [POPE.]

Maṇi. Sanskrit maṇi = jewel, bell. Used in all the Dravidian languages. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz draws a distinction between kurpu and maṇi; the latter is specific and implies a metal ring or bell. Thus although a maṇi is with this people always a kurpu, every kurpu is not a maṇi. It may be an axe or staff.

To me it seems that the word maṇi is a refinement introduced through contact with the Hindus; giving a more distinctly religious, sacred or holy meaning to the sentiment implied in the kurpu.

[†] Mui. In old Kanarese Muiyi is retaliation.

Mû in Tamil is old, venerable. [POPE.]

[‡] Mr. Metz tells me that an oath is taken, by removing the mantle, and stepping over it, in the presence of the étud Mand.

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the purpose of considering matters of weight concerning a large circle of families. This belief is greatly strengthened by the knowledge that throughout the East the practice is common, to hold similar meetings at shrines of holy men; Pirs, Jogis, Fakirs, &c.

That an étud Mand should have larger herds of cattle than ordinary, may be accounted for by the practice of the people to give cattle in fulfilment of a vow; that if so and so occurs—a son is born for instance—the gift of a cow or calf will be made to the dairy.

It is important that we arrive at some decision on the object and use of a dairy which occupies a position so manifestly conspicuous amongst their social institutions: to enable us to clear our minds as to all the components of the Toda faith. So long as we do not know what an étud Mand is, we should always feel that some material-portion of their religious system remained unexplained.

THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES OF THE NILAGIRIS.

765 but on one occasion I saw some old gold coins and a silver medal of the Nilagiri District Exhibition of 1869. The ceremonies occupy part of three days. The first is
 [77] devoted to belling the buffaloes. The Kota musicians are in attendance; crowds of Badagas and other natives come to see the ceremony; shopkeepers bring biscuits and
 [53] sweetmeats to sell, and the whole scene presents the aspect of a fair. Pending the arrival of the buffaloes, the Todas do a little dancing, escort monigars* or other
 [42] guests of importance in procession to the spot, chanting "Hoh! Hoh!" in the deepest bass possible to the human chest, hold Panchayat† for settling disputes, and
 [70] otherwise amuse themselves. Occasionally a man who is liable to inspiration, throws off his *pūkuli* and begins tramping up and down a line of Todas, shaking his head and trembling, while communicating the wishes of the god. On one occasion when I was there, no less than three went through this performance, professing to be possessed by Bēti Khān, the hunting god, who, however, seemed to have little to say beyond a lamentation, in the *laudator temporis acti* spirit, over the degeneracy of modern Todas as evinced by the decreasing number of buffaloes slaughtered. At last the herd of buffaloes, two or three for each of the dead commemorated, are driven up to the kraal, near which stands the funeral house. As the buffaloes approach the entrance; a crowd of young Todas, throwing off their *pūkulis*, rush into the kraal with them, seize them, and tie one or more bells to the neck of each, the women meanwhile weeping profusely. Ordinarily this finishes the ceremonial part of the proceeding, and the rest of the day is spent in eating and amusement; but on the occasion before alluded to, the buffaloes, distressed by their bells, made a rush at the wall of the kraal, and, in spite of the efforts of some Kotas, who fought valiantly for their next day's
 [57] dinner, five of them escaped, and had to be followed a mile or two and brought back. This untoward event further induced a quarrel between the Peikis and Todis, one of the former having in his excitement struck a Todi, who left the place in dudgeon, and was not appeased till many influential processions and much Kota music had been lavished on him.

[53] The second day's ceremonies are the most important. The young men spend the morning in dancing in the kraal, to the great annoyance of the buffaloes. Every now
 [54] and then three or four single out a particular buffalo and seize it, hanging on by the neck and horns, hold it for a few moments, and release it. This requires some nerve in the leader of the party, as he makes the first rush alone, and may be thrown down and trampled on before the others come to his assistance. Even when three or four are hanging on together, a buffalo will sometimes lift them all off their feet.

This, however, is only by way of passing the time; the actual ceremonies are begun by placing the *kēd*, wrapped in a new *pūkuli*, on the ground within the stone wall surrounding the *kēdmane*. Fifteen or twenty men stand round it, shouting "*Hah! hoh! ēr kar ullamā*," ("May the buffaloes and calves be well," or words of that kind; and one after the other lays his right hand on the *kēd*, covered by the *pūkuli*, and bows so as to touch it with the forehead. The *kēd* is then carried to the entrance of the cattle kraal, where a hole has been dug, and where the relatives and

* *Monigar*—properly *maniyakāran*, the head man of a village.

† *Panchayat*, a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members, usually chosen by the parties themselves for the settlement of petty disputes.

7/ [of the second or "dry" funeral -- Analysis]

797 of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and at-
 582 tempts to penalize the person responsible for the failure. [i:ɣxu:ɳ] (21, Idrəhkwo:dr) has one son [pumxu:ɳ]. His sister [sindafu:ɳ] (Sindavul) married [tua:smongu:ɳ] (59, Tormungudr) and they had two daughters, Mary and [so:ɟabu:f]. [i:ɣxu:ɳ] wanted Mary to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough, [60] Mary was married to [na:so:n] (son of [te:pax] 20, Teipakh). (In the tribal system [na:so:n] and [sindafu:ɳ] would use brother-sister terms to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib, but Mary could have been married to [na:so:n] in spite of that, since she would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this marriage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am uncertain which) to [i:ɣxu:ɳ], a clear carry-over from tribal custom, and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be married to [pumxu:ɳ]. When she came of age however, [pumxu:ɳ], who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father consequently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to marry [tə:umu:ɳku:lN]. [i:ɣxu:ɳ] tried to have the publishing of the banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin marriage, helped [pumxu:ɳ] by giving him cattle with which he might start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money. Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of [tə:umu:ɳku:lN] and [so:ɟabu:f] take place. The Toda Christians then held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [pe:θo:n] (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to [i:ɣxu:ɳ]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionaries heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided however that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tua:smongu:ɳ] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [i:ɣxu:ɳ]. These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them without the knowledge of the missionaries.

δ [i:ɣxu:ɳ]

♀ [sindafu:ɳ] = δ [tua:smongu:ɳ]

δ [pumxu:ɳ] ♀ Mary = δ [na:so:n] δ [tə:umu:ɳku:lN] = ♀ [so:ɟabu:f]

"A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

THE CHRISTIAN TODAS

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This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the